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ABSTRACT

The case study of the use of a classroom observation technique to evaluate the abilities and performance of a bilingual kindergarten student previously assessed as a low achiever is described. There are three objectives: to show the validity of the ethnographic monitoring technique, to show the value of teachers as collaborating researchers, and to demonstrate how information gathered in a natural classroom setting is useful as immediate feedback and can be incorporated into ongoing planning. Ethnographic monitoring, or focused ethnography, takes personal observation of social behavior and constructs a social theory of the working of a particular culture in terms as close as possible to the way its members view the universe and organize their behavior. and focuses on particular aspects of variation in observations that are theoretically and practically salient. The approach was applied here by videotaping a low-achieving student's behavior outside the teacher's view and immediately presenting it to the teacher, expanding her awareness of the child's communicative competence and other positive social qualities. The process resulted in an improved student-teacher relationship, changed instructional strategies and teacher expectations, and improved student performance. (MSE)

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EXPANDED AWARENESS OF STUDENT PERFORMANCE: A CASE STUDY IN APPLIED ETHNOGRAPHIC MONITORING IN A BILINGUAL CLASSROOM**

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EXPANDED AWARENESS OF STUDENT PERFORMANCE:

A CASE STUDY IN APPLIED ETHNOGRAPHIC MONITORING IN A BILINGUAL CLASSROOM

Robert L. Carrasco

Introduction

In every classroom there always seems to be at least one student that "just isn't making it." That is, a student who is assessed by the teacher as incompetent in various school tasks and who, therefore, is expected to achieve less than others in the classroom. This was the case of one teacher and her bilingual student in a bilingual kindergarten classroom I recently observed in Santa Barbara, California (April-May, 1978).

> "I had written her off. Her and three others. In other words, they had met my expectations and I just wasn't looking for anything else." (Teacher, Interview Transcriptions, May, 1978).

This case study will document an account of applied "ethnographic monitoring" (Hymes, 1976) in a bilingual classroom setting. Using video equipment and ethnographic procedures, I systematically captured on videotape this bilingual student as she was performing a task out of the teacher's awareness. I immediately shared the tape with the teacher and her aides in the field. After viewing the tape, the teacher looked at me and in a very reflective manner stated, "I'm going to have to suspend my full assessment of Lupita* until I get a closer look at her." The videotape had an impact on their work as educators as well as on the life of the bilingual kindergarten child.

In general, this study will speak to "What can be done to bring research more in line with the reality of the classroom and the needs and concerns of teachers." This study will show how a teacher's "Early-in-the-school-year"

* Pseudonyms will be used to maintain agreed upon confidentiality.

classroom observation of a child, her knowledge of the child's home background, and of the child's pre-test scores, all played a role in determining not only a child's perceived competence, but also the nature of the interaction between the teacher and student for most of the remaining year. More importantly, this study will show how a teacher's "expanded awareness" of a child's communicative competence and other positive social qualities resulted in positive changes not only in the interaction between teacher and student, but also in instructional strategies and teacher expectations for that child, and therefore, in the child's performance in the classroom.

I tried to present this case study in simple narrative form, free of most of the jargon used by social scientists and of the shared assumptions within this area of research because I believe the studies such as this one are of value not only to social scientists, but more importantly, to practitioners in the field--teachers, administrators, aides, and college education majors. They all must be able to read and understand such accounts.

The basic reasons for documenting this case study are:

1) To show the efficacy and validity of classroom ethnography;

2) To show the value of teachers (and aides) as collaborating researchers (for it is the teacher and aides who know the classroom and the students better than any outside observer, including the school principal);

3) To demonstrate how information gathered in natural classroom settings is useful to teachers as immediate feedback and how this information is incorporated into ongoing planning (That is, how functionally relevant research in the field is useful to the educational process).

Ethnography and Ethnographic Monitoring

Social and intellectual assessment of children depends not only on formal measures (e.g., tests) but also on interactions between teachers and students. Although other factors play a major role in the type of education a

child receives, (i.e., textbooks, materials, etc.) the effectiveness of such factors is bound by the day-to-day communication the student has with his/her teacher. When students are performing various school tasks and activities with the teacher, teachers use what they see and hear as ways of assessing their social and intellectual competence. What students are called upon to perform in the classroom is an important factor which shapes their educational careers (Cicourel et al, 1975; Florio, 1977; Mehan, 1974; McDermott, 1974; Erickson et al, 1975). An important fact to keep in mind is that teachers see and hear only a limited sample of a student's total "communicative repertoire."

> "Because of individual and cultural differences, children are differentially sensitive to various dimensions of these contexts, so some children employ a wide range of speech styles in performing ordinary school tasks in the teacher's presence, while other children employ a narrow range of styles in those contexts. In observing children of the latter type, the busy teacher is likely to commit the logical fallacy of inferring lack of competence from their lack of performance." (Erickson et al, 1975: 4)

Thus, basic to the educational process in classroom settings is the communicative competence of children. In general, the notion of communicative competence, as defined by Goodenough (1971), is based on what a speaker needs to know to communicate effectively in culturally significant settings. I would like to refine that definition here: "Communicative competence is based on what a person needs to know and do to communicate and perform effectively in culturally significant settings." If one views the classroom as a small society or community, it is therefore a socially and culturally organized system. Classroom researchers should then ask (as I have): "What do students need to know and do to be competent members of the classroom community? What skills and knowledge must students employ to be judged successful in the eyes of other members of the classroom, notably the teacher?"

To tackle such questions one must begin by understanding the qualitative nature of interaction a student has with his/her teacher. The importance of this assumption is expressed by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1973):

> "The heart of the educational process is in the interaction between teacher and student. It is through this interaction that the school system makes its major impact upon the child. The way the teacher interacts with the student is a major determinant of the quality of education that the child receives." (Ibid: 7)

Another important step is to understand the qualitative nature of classroom peer interaction. This insight can reveal the range of communicative competence and other social qualities children may possess (qualities such as leadership, teaching abilities, mediator) outside of teacher's awareness, how awareness of such insight might expand the teacher's knowledge of children's abilities, and therefore, how this knowledge can be used in the education process of children. Research then, should focus on all the communicative "arteries" of the classroom, for therein lies the "heart" of the educational process.

If the subtle process of education is to be understood, methods which simply codify and quantify the behaviors of classroom interactants (e.g., Flanders Interaction Analysis System) are inadequate. While such methods (such as Flanders) have yielded important summary findings (such as those reported by the U.S. Civil Rights Report #5, 1973) they have been and continue to be of limited usefulness to any individual classroom. "It is when one tries to move from such important summary findings to search for the classroom dynamics which produce them that different methodologies are needed," Cazden (1974) states in reference to the Civil Rights Report. (For reviews of such quantative systems, see Dunkin and Biddle, 1974, and Good and Brophy, 1973.) A different methodological approach is also required to provide ways of studying

everyday life in classrooms that make more sense to teachers than previous approaches have done.

In this case study the approach I used can be generally called "ethnography" and, more specifically, "ethnographic monitoring" (Hymes, 1976). In general, ethnography is an attempt to describe a particular culture. Bauman (1972) describes ethnography as "the process of constructing through direct personal observation of social behavior, a theory of the working of a particular culture in terms as close as possible to the way members of that culture view the universe and organize their behavior within it" (Ibid: 157). Within any culture (or group) the task of the ethnographer is to discover what members need to know and do and how they acquire cultural competence to be an acceptable member (Goodenough, 1971; Frake, 1964).

Ethnographic research is qualitative primarily, and holistic in the sense that units of analysis of whatever scale and level of complexity are considered analytically as whole (Erickson, 1977) whether that whole be a community, a group in that community, a school, a classroom, an event in the classroom, even an episode within a classroom event. The basic assumption underlying holistic research is that the attributes of social facts and phenomena can be inferred only in the context of the entire social system of which they are a part. Thus, intensive and extensive ethnographic inquiry focuses on key incidents whose functional relevance is presumed to have high explanatory power for similar incidents and reveal codes of behavior and generalizeable views.

The approach taken in this study can be characterized as "focused" rather than general ethnography--or as "ethnographic monitoring" (Hymes, 1976). "Ethnographic monitoring" involves a micro-focus on particular aspects of variation in data--or variation that is salient theoretically, and also relevantly salient to practitioners (Erickson, 1977). The classroom can be

subjected to useful monitoring. Relevant classroom phenomena can be identified on the basis of prior quantitative and qualitative research in the same or similar settings, the needs and concerns of the participants in the setting, or a combination of these (Hymes, 1977; and see Shultz and Harkness, 1972, for an example of this). Such a focus on salient issues of value to those affected by and involved in the research makes possible "intimate familiarity" and genuine collaborative relationships between the researcher and the teacher (Lofland, 1976; also see Florio and Walsh, 1976, for an account of this type of relationship).

Basic to all research is the issue of validity. For ethnographic inquiry, validity is commonly dependent upon accurate knowledge of the meanings of behavior and institutions to those who participate in them. "Accurate knowledge is sine qua non," (Hymes, 1977: 9)--knowledge that comes from participation and observation--"if what one thinks one knows" is to be valid. Moreover, giving meaning to behaviors cannot also be assumed in advance of inquiry. That can only be discovered through participation and observation over time by the researcher.

> "Before classroom research can proceed further we need languages of description at the level of primary data collection which make contact with the theories of action that are being used in moment to moment decision-making by participation in the events we observe and describe." (Erickson, 1978:3)

Thus, the issue of descriptive validity is essentially one of functional relevance from the participants' point of view (See Hymes, 1977; Erickson, 1977, 1978, for elaboration on standards and issues of validity in qualitative research, and more specifically, ethnographic monitoring). Ethnographic monitoring involves working with definitions of what is relevant taken from the "conscious" awareness of school practitioners and from existing literature in educational research.

Ethnographic monitoring may involve "discovering" new phenomena of functional relevance--new relationships among variables--that may not be accounted for in the conscious awareness of school practitioners, but may be suggested by recent research and theory development in social sciences (Erickson, 1977). In this case study, the teacher was unaware of a child's communicative competence in peer relationships in the classroom setting. My ability to discover this phenomenon is due to having been involved in a prior study (Carrasco and Vera, 1977; Carrasco, Vera and Cazden, 1978) in a similar setting. This background knowledge helped me discover a salient phenomenon of relevance to the teacher but not accounted for in her conscious awareness.

ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

Entry Negotiations

Negotiating entry at Riverdale Elementary School* is important because this type of inquiry requires establishing "trust" not only with the teacher but also with the school system as a whole. Knowing that my planned short time frame for research would not allow me to independently develop this trust relationship with the teacher and the school, I tapped into an already established trusting relationship between a professor at the local university and the school system nearby. I was introduced through this established social network and was accepted by association for further development of the relationship.

Once introduced to the teacher and the school administrators, it was made clear to all personnel at Riverdale School that my role was not to evaluate the program nor the quality of teaching/learning, but rather to explore the daily natural interactions between the teacher and her students,

* pseudonym

and to collaborate with the teacher as a researcher-practitioner. I further explained that I would not interfere with normal daily classroom schedule of events, as I wanted to observe and capture routine events and behaviors of participants in a natural classroom setting.

School and Community Background

Riverdale School is located in a small town just outside of Santa Barbara, California. It is set in the center of a multicultural, middle-class residential area surrounded mostly by hilly alfalfa, fruit trees and animal farms. Beyond these farms is the older, predominantly Chicano and Spanish speaking community which was once the center of this expanding town.

The new residential area (in which Riverdale School is located) is much like any suburban community (with new shopping malls nearby) whose residents mostly work in the nearest city (in this case, Santa Barbara). The majority speak English, while some are Spanish speakers, usually bilingual.

The residents of the "old" part of town mostly either work there or are farm laborers (some families live on ranches in migrant homes provided by the farm owners). There is a large portion of first, second, third and fourth generation Chicano residents and ever-increasing newly arrived Mexican "green card holders" (legal residents), both using Spanish as their primary language (in stores, theatres, and homes).

The bilingual classroom is an "enrichment" program because of the emphasis on multicultural education and because all children receive instruction in a second language. Moreover, it is a "volunteer" program--the parents have the choice of sending their children to either a bilingual or a regular English only classroom (both are available to the community). The

bilingual program's goal is to have the children emerge as equally competent is Spanish and English.

Because there are only two elementary schools in the town, in Ms. Padilla's kindergarten classroom approximately half the children come from the local neighborhood making this class a multilingual, multicultural classroom--the students were either newly arrived Mexicans, Chicanos or Anglos, Spanish or English speaking (or both), or a combination of these.

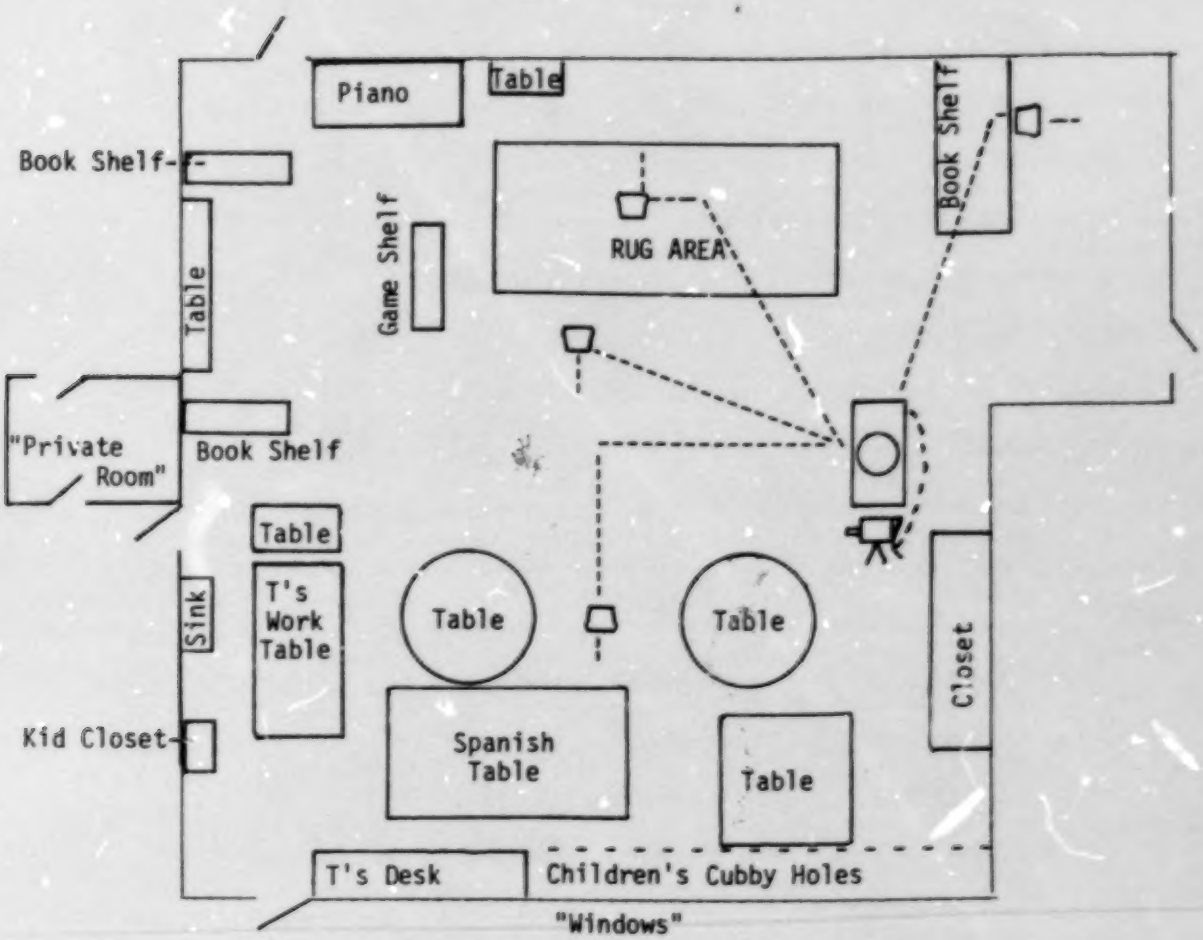
Classroom Environment

The large classroom (approximately 32 x 46") is very well-lighted and airconditioned. In general, the walls of the classroom are rich in very colorful decor and busy looking, with lots of individual children's art and academic work displayed on bilingual bulletin boards and other areas along the walls (including the windows).

There are four or five independent learning centers (areas)--an audio assisted reading center (with headphones), a manipulable (hands-on) game center, an art culture center, a science area and a puppet theatre area. These centers change from time to time, week to week, depending on the teacher's lesson plans, and serve as enrichment areas. A static center (one that doesn't change) is the classroom library, well-stocked with a variety of bilingual preschool, kindergarten and first grade books, including a unique collection of teacher-made bilingual materials.

Along with the normal bookshelves and general storage areas, there is a piano, four large working tables and chairs (both kindergarten size) and a large rug that is normally used for teacher-led whole group events (Please refer to Illustration A, Floor Plan and Technical Equipment Set-up for top view of classroom environment). No child has claims to any seat or particular table space since the children are always assigned to different work areas during the day. But each child does have a personal storage space, a "cubby," a box drawer (1 x 1 x 2") against the wall under the windows.

ILLUSTRATION A: CLASSROOM FLOOR PLAN AND TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT SET-UP



Technical equipment set-up; VTR, Vega wireless receiver, Sound Mixer Tapes, and Field Notes Table

Studio Camera and Tripod

Overhead Low Impedence Microphones

- - - - Microphone wire(s)

Other than the working tables, there are two other small working areas, private and semi-private, where the children can work with the teacher and/or aides. The private space is a small room adjacent to the left side of the room (See Floor Plan) and the semi-private space is within the classroom walls, an alcove-like space on the upper right of the Floor Plan.

Through the windows there is a view of a vast, neatly manicured playground lawn with many swings, bars, sand boxes, and benches near baseball-kickball fields.

Normal Classroom Events

Diagram 1 (below) illustrates the weekly/daily schedule or instructional events I discovered in my first week of observation by taking field notes. In brief, opening, activities, music story, and end prep are events in which the entire class (whole group) participates with the teacher (with aides helping or preparing for the next event or on "coffee break"). For the other events, small groups are formed according to ability groups (e.g., high, low, medium groups for math; Spanish dominant, English dominant, bilingual for Spanish Reading; etc.). Spanish as a Second Language is made up of groups who are dominant English speakers, while English as a Second Language is taught to dominant Spanish speakers. Bilinguals receive both (alternating days) or receive special instruction as a third group.

The second week in which I videotaped was like a "Chicano Culture Week," because that Friday was "Cinco de Mayo"--one of two Mexican Independence days celebrated in Mexico and in the U.S. by Mexican American communities throughout the Southwest and other areas where Chicanos are in large numbers. Therefore, the activities during the week were mostly culturally aimed to accommodate the coming school/community celebration.

Diagram 2 (below) reflects a change in daily plans (different from the normal Thursday schedule) to highlight aspects of Mexican culture.

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
12:00 12:30	MATH	SPANISH READING	SPANISH READING	SPANISH READING	MATH
12:30 12:45	OPENING	OPENING	OPENING	OPENING	OPENING
12:45 1:00	SPANISH SECOND LANGUAGE/ENGLISH SECOND LANGUAGE	SPANISH SECOND LANGUAGE/ENGLISH SECOND LANGUAGE	SPANISH SECOND LANGUAGE/ENGLISH SECOND LANGUAGE	SPANISH SECOND LANGUAGE/ENGLISH SECOND LANGUAGE	SPANISH SECOND LANGUAGE/ENGLISH SECOND LANGUAGE
1:00 1:15	SNACK	SNACK	SNACK	SNACK	SNACK
1:15 1:30	RECESS	RECESS	RECESS	RECESS	RECESS
1:30 2:00	SOCIAL STUDIES	SPANISH TABLES	ENGLISH READING	SPANISH READING	SOCIAL STUDIES
2:00 2:30	ACTIVITIES	ENGLISH READING	ACTIVITIES	ENGLISH READING	ACTIVITIES
2:30 2:45	MUSIC STORY	MUSIC STORY	MUSIC STORY	MUSIC STORY	MUSIC STORY
2:45 3:00	END PREP	END PREP	END PREP	END PREP	END PREP

DIAGRAM 1: NORMAL WEEKLY CLASSROOM EVENTS

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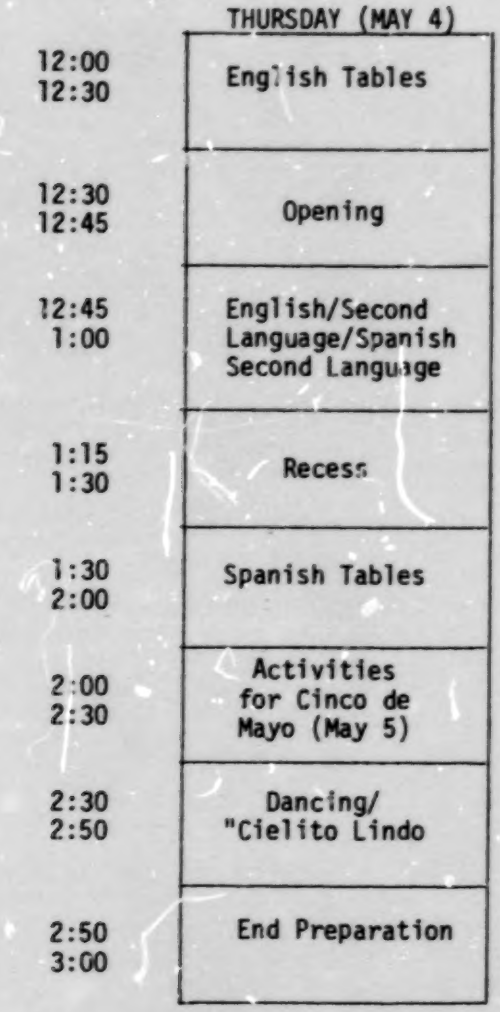
DIAGRAM 2: CHANGE FROM NORMAL CLASSROOM EVENTS - THURSDAY



The teacher keeps a very strict and efficient time schedule always beginning and ending each lesson on time (as scheduled in her daily lesson plans). She is very aware of always cueing the children explicitly of the beginning and end of each instructional event (e.g., a slight rendition on the piano means two minutes to get ready for the next event or two minutes to end the present event).

In my observations (and later verified by the teacher), all whole group events are conducted in Spanish and English, alternating from one language to another, repeating each sentence in the other language. Children are allowed to speak in either language when they initiate discussion or contribute to a discussion. During certain events, especially during opening, the teacher makes it a point to ask Spanish dominant children questions in English expecting/requiring answers in English, and vice versa for English dominant children.

In small group lessons, if the group is made up of Spanish speakers only, then the lesson is conducted in Spanish (e.g., Spanish Tables). But if the Spanish speakers are in an event such as English as a Second Language or English Reading, then Spanish and English are both used.

In this taped event under study, Spanish Tables, the lesson is conducted in Spanish since it is for Spanish speakers. The task at the Spanish Tables requires the children to read a teacher-made six page Mexican culture book, Mi Libro de Cultura, translated "My Cultural Book." The child must read what is written under the picture and then color the picture with crayons using the appropriate underlined color in the printed sentence (e.g., "Es un huarache cafe," translated, "it's a brown sandal"). Thus, the objective of the lesson is to understand the meaning of the color words and to demonstrate that understanding by appropriately coloring the pictures.

Teacher, Aides, and Children's Background

Ms. Padilla is a bilingual (Spanish-English) Chicana, in her late twenties (age), and very knowledgeable in Early Childhood and Bilingual Education (B.A. and M.A. in Elementary Education with special emphasis on Early Childhood Education). Her previous experience includes: kindergarten bilingual teacher (one year), Preschool Director of Bilingual Education (a federally funded community program), Migrant School Director, and Research Assistant at an institute for retarded children. She is actively involved in school/community relations, and is often asked to present teacher/parent workshops in bilingual education and community involvement in the schools.

Her teaching style can be described as enthusiastic and quick paced. She consciously praises children in a variety of ways (privately, publicly, and most often nonverbally at the one-to-one level). Her lessons seem to be well planned in time, content, and strategy. She also seems to be conscious of what is going on in her classroom at all times.

When I asked her how she knew so much about a child's background, she informed me that at the beginning of the school year she had visited all of her students' homes and kept notes on their environment.

Ms. Padilla has three bilingual community aides which she selected, two at the beginning and the third in the middle of the school year. The teacher informed me that she chose the aides to complement her teaching style, which she admits is very quick and energetic. The aides are provided by the Migrant program[1] (two aides) and Title VII/ECE funds (one aide). Ms. Padilla knows the capabilities and abilities of each aide and manages them in a highly well planned manner so that all are clear about their roles each day.

There are twenty-eight (28) children in the classroom. Eighteen are registered "migrant" children, all bilingual, accounting for the presence

of two migrant aides (Ms. L_____ and Mrs. H_____). Approximately half the class is bussed to the school from the other (predominantly Chicano) community. The rest of the class live in the immediate community surronding the school.

Lupita's Background

The focal child, Lupita, was born and raised in Mexico before attending kindergarten at the school site. According to the teacher, in Mexico she lived with her grandmother while her parents were working in the United State as migrant workers. In Mexico, she did not have access to radios, television, toys, puzzles, crayons, paper, paste, and scissors. She rarely (if ever) interacted with other children, mostly interacting with her grandmother.

While school officially began on September 12th, Lupita's parents brought her over from Mexico and enrolled her in school on the day after September 16, which is the day after Mexican Independence Day. The teacher informed me that "it's very normal for the migrant children not to be, the green card holders, not to come to school 'til after September 16 'cause that's when they start in Mexico."

Once in school (kindergarten) Lupita was given a pre-test, what the teacher explained was acually a "placement test," consisting of "those skills we hope our kids will have at the end of the year." While the norm for that test for entering children was 12/32, Lupita only scored 3/32. She was only able to give her name (3 points). She wasn't able to name colors or numbers, could not answer "how old are you," and did not know her address. "She just went through the test blank." (Teacher, Interview Transcriptions). The test was administered in Spanish by the teacher, since Lupita did not speak English.

Lupita was six years old (will be seven in August, 1978) and the normal age for kindergarten was five years. She has one younger brother or sister, and now lives with her parents whom the teacher described as "real young." The parent's major concern with Lupita in school is that she behave, a concern not shared by the teacher since Lupita is considered a model student.

In my observation of Lupita in class, she was always very attentive, quiet, well-mannered, and seemed to always behave appropriately.

> "One thing I have to say about Lupita is she's always been a good little girl...to the point that I lose her! I forget about her. She becomes part of the other kids. So I have to keep reminding myself that Lupita is there." (Teacher Interview Transcriptions)

In the beginning of the academic year, Lupita was given the opportunity to perform in various group tasks until she "weeded" herself out into what the teacher called, "My preschool group." The teacher defined that group as children who needed school environment experiences that other children possessed before entering school.

> "The most important thing I could do with them is to let them experience environment. Just let them learn what you do in pre-school. Let them have an environment so rich that they would quickly learn to play with things, putting puzzles together. Like she (Lupita) had never had coloring, papers and crayons, never knew what they were. Didn't know how to cut with scissors; pasting, didn't know any of those things." (Teacher , Interview Transcriptions)

Her emphasis was to give her (Lupita) a strong preschool year.

In the middle of each school year, the school teachers must d[illegible] which children in their classes are below grade level and who is most likely to be retained, in order for the school administration to plan for the following year. Upon reflection, the teacher admitted that it was then that she

"wrote Lupita off." Since Lupita had fallen so far behind, the teacher decided to make this year a preschool year for her (with the permission of the parents), and retain her in kindergarten. While the teacher did realize that Lupita was probably competent in other areas (such as oral language skills), she was not competent in the skills required to pass first grade. Ms. Padilla estimated that she (Lupita) would not catch up with the rest of the students at the end of the year.

"THE STORY"

STEPS OF INQUIRY AT THE FIELD SITE

Some pertinent details of the actual steps of inquiry are presented in this report for the following important reasons:

- In writing up research, while most researchers concentrate on the analysis of data and results sections, in this study I have focused on the procedures because it was the actual steps of inquiry that led to the discovery of a salient phenomenon of functional relevance to the teacher and should therefore merit special attention. Important details such as "how contact with informants were made, how trust between teacher and researcher was established and maintained, how initial inquiry questions and methods changed as the conditions in the field changed, and how videotape equipment was introduced to a natural classroom environment," are among the many aspects of field inquiry of this type that are essential to report here if the results are to make full sense to the reader.

- The second reason for highlighting this section is to present an actual account of how initial questions of ethnographic inquiry can change in the field as new salient phenomena become more important and relevant to the participants involved.

- Finally, this section is important because it tests the idea that not all classroom ethnographic research need be so time consuming. My goal was to try to quickly feed back to the teacher what knowledge was found in hopes of making research data relevant to action (on the part of the teacher).

> "It seems like standard procedure in social science to take an inordinate amount of time between initiation of a research project and the writing up of the research data. The applied researcher has no such luxury. If the

> key decision must be made in a week, then research procedures and analysis must accommodate that time frame or the entire procedure may be rendered useless (Schensul, 1974: 207)

These steps of inquiry will show that in a relatively short time frame (less than three weeks--See Diagram 3, Calendar of Field Site Events), it is methodologically possible for classroom ethnographic research to have immediate and relevant effects on those participants involved--the teacher and the students.

Purpose

Before I entered the classroom to observe, it was clear to the teacher and her aides that my intent was not to evaluate, but rather to investigate the nature of classroom interaction with a special focus on the interaction between the teacher and individual students. However, so as not to affect the nature of her interaction with students, I did not tell her what specific questions I was addressing.

I initially came into this study with the questions, "How do Chicano teachers praise Chicano children? And does it differ from the way they praise Anglo or other ethnic children in the classroom? And what are the ays, means, and forms for praising?" These questions changed during inquiry in the field as "new" questions became salient issues of functional relevance to the classroom participants, notably the teacher and her aides.

Classroom Observations

A few hours into my first day of classroom observation, I quickly became friends with one of the teacher's aides, Mrs. H_____, mainly because we were the same age, spoke in the same Chicano jargon, and because I had become friends with her husband, a doctoral student at the local university,

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
WEEK 1 April 24-28	- No School - Meet with teacher in her home	- Observation field notes (PM 12-3:00) - Meet principal (AM) - Meet Early Childhood Education Coordinator (AM) - Tour School-meet teaching staff/ aides - Aide Informant	- Observation field notes - Verify/test aide's opinion	- UCSB Campus (AM) - Test technical equipment - Photos of children (PM) - Make floor plan set up (PM) with okay by teacher	- UCSB Campus - Final testing of equipment (UCSB - ALL DAY)
WEEK 2 May 1-May 5	- UCSB-Repair some equipment (AM)-transport to field site - Set up equipment at site (after school w/ teacher - Test VEGA wireless	- Trial testing audio/visual - Introduction of equipment to class (demo) - Taping Day #1	- Taping Day #2 - Large/small group lessons - Repeated viewings of videotapes (After school by researcher)	- Taping Day #3 - Large/small group (1 hour) - Maria-2 hrs. w/ teacher's permission - Field site viewing of Maria tape (After school w/ teacher and aides) - End of taping session	- CINCO DE MAYO CELEBRATION - No taping
WEEK 3 May 9-May 12	- View tapes by researcher (alone) - Time-date corpus of videotapes - Make duplicates of data tapes - Generate questions for teacher interview session	- Interview teacher at her home (PM)	- Field site to thank teacher, aides, coordinator and principal - Special thanks to children	- Return to Harvard	- Harvard write-up begins

DIAGRAM 3: CALENDAR OF FIELD SITE RESEARCH EVENTS

who had somewhat similar interests in bilingual education. Near the end of the first day of observation, Mrs. H_____ privately pulled me aside and told me that it was unfortunate that I couldn't capture on videotape how Chicano children "really" speak. She explained that Chicano children are basically very shy in front of the teacher, in small or large group sessions, and in those contexts speak very little, especially the dominant Spanish speaking children whom she felt were very strong in Spanish oral language skills. She said that these skills were rarely displayed in the classroom except at the peer and one-to-one levels with an adult--mainly the aides from their community. This participant-informant suggested that I might investigate the speaking abilities of those children.

The next day of observation, I asked Mrs. H_____ if she could identify some dominant Spanish speaking children so that I might talk to them at the one-to-one level, just to satisfy my curiosity. I talked to two children one of which was Lupita, the other was her friend, Graciela. I sat next to where Lupita was sitting doing individual group work (art). She initiated our discussion by asking me if I had children, a wife, and where I lived. Having satisfied her curiosity, she then began to tell me (without elicitation) what had happened most recently at home--in rich, descriptive detail and in excellent oral Spanish. She painted a vivid picture of the story in my mind. After speaking to both children, I went to the aide and thanked her for her interesting insight and told her that I thought it deserved further investigation. And I momentarily dropped the subject since my initial intention then was not to investigate how individual children speak and perform.

My third day of observation, I decided to take naturalistic still-photographs (using fast indoor film that does not require flash lighting)

of each child. I knew that in my planned limited observation and taping schedule I would not be able to remember each of their names, and still pictures of each child would be very valuable information for future use of the corpus of videotapes. I gave the pictures to the teacher asking her to write on the back of each the child's name, age, language dominance, ethnicity, estimated SES, and a brief assessment of their academic and social competence in school.

Immediately after the third day of observation, with my field notes I began to identify key instructional events which I felt were rich in teacher praising instances. I decided that whole group events such as opening and activities would be taped because the teacher seemed to ask each child something instructional requiring reinforcement by the teacher when the children answered. This, I decided, would allow me to see how the teacher praises each individual child "publicly." I also decided to videotape small group table events because I had observed the teacher and aides "making the rounds," monitoring each child's individual work and stopping to help and/or to praise the children "privately."

Setting Up the Technical Equipment

In my field notes I sketched a physical lay-out of the classroom (See Illustration A), taking note of which areas were not frequented by children or teacher and aides, looking for a vantage place to set up the technical equipment which would allow me to capture those events of interest to me. The teacher and I decided that the Puppet Theatre area would be appropriate since it is rarely used and because from that area I could capture all the areas where instructional events normally take place.

Using my field notes and observation knowledge of that classroom, I was able to decide where I should place the overhead microphones (knowing

what classroom areas were normally used for certain instructional events I wanted to videotape). Using my classroom lay-out sketch, I showed the teacher where I thought the microphones should be placed, asking her if they might interfere with her normal routines. The first day of the following week (after school), I set up all the equipment using four overhead microphones strategically placed, a sound mixer, a wireless microphone system, and a video-camera set-up (studio camera and tripod with a videotape recorder (VTR)). The wireless microphone was to be worn by the teacher throughout the scheduled two-day taping sessions.

Overcoming Obtrusiveness: Taping Days I & II

The following day the children arrived and all were curious about the equipment. I was allowed by the teacher to show them how the equipment worked, and the teacher briefly explained to them that I was going to videotape the class for the next few days. For the first hour or so, the children were conscious of the camera's presence, sometimes coming over to that area to quick-glance at what was being taped. I was taking this opportunity to field test the equipment with live subjects and natural classroom noise to adjust for quality pictures and sound before actual videotaping of selected instructional events I had decided to record.

After that first hour, the children seemed to have accepted the equipment as part of their normal environment. The camera quickly became unobtrusive, and since the teacher and I both decided that it was not bothering them, we went ahead and began taping that afternoon. One of the key behaviors I discovered to help speed up "unobtrusiveness" was for me to keep away from the camera area once I had set up the camera with a wide angle lens and checked the audio levels, leaving the camera to do all the work in a static position, yet capturing the entire scene. Knowing the instructional event

routines in time and space from prior observations allowed me to do this. Whenever the event space changed, I walked up to the set-up, changed the camera, focused on the event, switched microphone inputs, checked the audio quality, and left the area. This strategy was no longer necessary the second day of taping since the equipment (and I) had become part of the children's normal environment.

A General Review of Collected Tapes and the Birth of New Questions

After taping two days of selected instructional events (as scheduled), I reviewed the corpus of tapes alone that evening to begin to catalog and edit analogous events rich in praising instances for comparative analysis. To do this I had to repeatedly look at all the events, focusing on how the teacher praised, how many times she praised, and to whom the praises were directed. This became the turning point of this study for it was during this process that I came across a pattern of teacher behavior of which I couldn't make sense. Having become very familiar with Lupita, I was always aware of her while viewing the taped events. I became aware of Lupita mainly from our earlier conversation during my observation period and because we usually had short conversations before and after school. I found that in each taped event that Lupita participated in, whether in large or small group discussion, the teacher rarely called on her to participate, although a few times she was recognized for her appropriate behavior. I began to wonder "Why is is that Lupita is not called upon by the teacher in those events? And why is it that in some events (events on the rug where children must sit on the floor) Lupita sits in a peripheral way--away from the teacher and on the edge of the group?" These became such nagging questions in my mind that I decided that evening to extend my taping schedule one more day to further investigate this feature. (As a safe-guard, I intentionally had not taken down the

technical equipment that afternoon in case I needed to tape additional segments (if the quality of some of the tapes was poor)).

Taping Day III -- The Lupita Tape

The next day, I asked the teacher if I could tape Lupita's actions during that day's events with an explanation that I only wanted to see her operate in various contexts with and without the teacher. The teacher, somewhat surprised, then informed me that she would be very interested to learn more about Lupita because she (teacher) had decided to retain her in kindergarten for one more year "because she was incompetent in those skills, prerequisite skills required to succeed in first grade--skills that should be learned in kindergarten." Not asking any questions about Lupita's performance in class, I asked the teacher to save her explanation of why she felt Lupita should be retained until after the taping session was over that afternoon. Then the questions became, "What is Lupita doing to be judged incompetent in the eyes of the teacher? Is she competent in other contexts?"

Before all videotaping had begun, I anticipated using a wireless microphone not only with the teacher but also with some children. Mrs. M_____ made five children's vests of various colors and sizes especially designed (by me) to carry the wireless pocket-size transmitter and the mini-microphone. The teacher made her own.

Lupita was asked to wear the vest (which had a special pocket on the back to insert the wireless transmitter), allowing her to get used to it. The mini-microphone was clipped and taped to her left shoulder close to her throat area, the microphone pointing away from her so as to capture not only Lupita's voice but also the utterances of those persons interacting with her. (The same wireless set-up was used by the teacher the previous days of taping using an adult version of the vest.)

When I saw that Lupita was no longer concerned with the vest and that the other children were no longer interested in what she was wearing, I began to videotape her after recess that same day.

Not concerned with the content of what I was taping, but rather concerned with obtaining quality audio and video pictures, I was not aware of a scene I was picturing. Working alone with technical equipment in such an active environment makes it almost impossible to concentrate on things other than making sure the equipment is working.

Immediate Feedback in the Field

At three o'clock, when the children were dismissed, I was rewinding and reviewing the tapes taken that afternoon, checking the quality of each. During this process, I came across a scene with Lupita and two other children working on puzzles during "free time." It was while watching this scene that I was caught by the teacher saying to myself aloud, "Wow. This is interesting!" The teacher came over to me and asked "What's interesting?" I then asked her if she wouldn't mind seeing what Lupita did in her "free time" during the Spanish Tables instructional event. She agreed and also asked the three aides and another kindergarten teacher who had come in to visit and view the tape. I was not reluctant to show the tape to this audience because they all understood that my interest was on the teacher's interaction with children and I knew that the teacher and aides (who up to this point in time had not seen any of the tapes) wanted to know more about Lupita. Preparing the tape for them, I said nothing evaluative about the taped scene. I sat away from the viewing session allowing the viewers to interact among themselves as they watched the tape.

The Taped Scene

Briefly, what they saw was Lupita performing and interacting outside of teacher awareness during "free time." After having finished the Spanish

Tables instructional event task (she was the first to finish the task), Lupita decided to use her free time to work on a puzzle at the rug area. She was soon joined by two other bilingual girls, each independently working on their own puzzles. Lupita was immediately successful in placing a few pieces back on the puzzle template. Then Marta, a bilingual child assessed by the teacher as a very competent student, asked Lupita for help in placing her first piece on the template. Lupita not only helped but also taught her how to work with it by taking Marta's hand and showing her where and how it should be placed. Lupita continued to help her for a short while and then returned to her own puzzle. A few moments later, Lupita disengaged herself from her puzzle work and became interested in what a boy, who had just entered the scene, was doing with a box of toys. Lupita asked him if she could play with him, when suddenly the boy was interrupted by the classroom aide who asked him if he had finished his work at the Spanish Tables (trying to convey to him that he shouldn't be there). The boy did not quite understand, perhaps, what was being asked of him. Lupita turned around and told him that he should go back to finish his work. He left and Lupita continued working on her puzzle which was almost completed. Marta again asked for help after not having accomplished very much since the last "help." Lupita helped Marta for a short time, then returned to her own task. The teacher then entered the scene, moved past them toward the piano, and played a few notes to cue the children that the event would be over in two minutes and to begin to prepare for the next event (this is a normal cue understood by all participants). Lupita speeded up her effort while Marta continued to have trouble. Lupita finished her puzzle, then helped Marta with hers, while the third child in the scene (who was sitting next to Marta) approached Lupita's side with her puzzle and nonverbally indicated that she also needed help. Lupita told Marta to continue to work on hers alone while she helped the third child

and asked if she could help them finish the puzzle. Lupita, working quickly with the third child's puzzle, directed Graciela to go help Marta since she needed the help. After Lupita and the third child put away their finished puzzles, Lupita looked around and noticed that Graciela and Marta were still at theirs. She quickly approached them, knelt down in front of them, took command and helped them finish in time for the next lesson. I "wowed" because this scene showed Lupita's competence as a leader, teacher, and also a competent puzzle-maker. Moreover, it seemed to reveal how Lupita's peers perceive her as compared to how the teacher perceived her.

Viewers' Reactions

Immediately after the viewing session "in the field," the teachers and aides were milling around, reflecting, talking about it, and appearing somewhat amazed about what they had seen. While I was rewinding the tape once more, the teacher approached me and said, "I'm going to have to suspend my assessment of Lupita until I get a closer look at her...and a couple of other children, too. That was very insightful. Thank you!"

The teacher remained very reflective that afternoon while she was preparing the classroom for the next day. Mrs. H_____ seemed very glad (as she smiled at me) that I had in fact captured something she suspected about Lupita...and other children like her in class.

I did not pursue questioning the teacher about Lupita since I felt she was still thinking about this new awareness and because she was busy preparing for the next day's Cinco de Mayo celebration at the school. I left for the week-end to continue cataloging, editing, and analyzing the tapes, returning to her home on Tuesday. That evening I interviewed the teacher in her home while viewing the selected pieces of videotape rich in praising instances.

Teacher Interview Session

In that session I was trying to get her to help me identify and point out praises. It soon became obvious to me that neither she or I were fully interested in "praising"; during a rest period, we began talking at great length about Lupita's tape. I audiotaped the conversation-interview and transcribed it. I asked very few questions and received long, informative answers, thoughts, and philosophical ideas without much probing. Ms. Padilla wanted to share everything with me about Lupita and a few other children as well. It was very clear that this topic was of functional relevance to the teacher.

I was extremely interested in what the teacher was saying because before the interview I had no knowledge of Lupita's background except that she was a dominant Spanish speaker, that she was competent in the Spanish language, and that she was going to be retained in kindergarten. Moreover, while I had some idea, I couddn't make full sense of why the teacher and aides reacted in a very enlightened manner after viewing Lupita's tape. I wanted to hear Lupita's background, for she then became central to my study.

Before I began audiotaping the teacher interview session regarding Lupita, I informed the teacher how I decided to isolate Lupita "for a closer look" at her behavior in class. I explained how, on the basis of having noticed that she had not called on Lupita to participate in either large or small group instructional event discussions on my tapes, I became curious as to why this was happening at least during those events I had captured on tape. I asked Ms. Padilla this question knowing that prior to observation and taping she had earlier expressed to me that she made it a conscious point to try to interact with each child each day in each session. I found that the teacher was consciously aware of the nature of this interaction. She explained that

because of Lupita's history and home background, and her prior lack of performance in those prerequisite skills required as background to participate effectively in these sessions, she decided not to humiliate or embarrass Lupita in front of her peers for not being able to answer or adequately perform in those contexts. The teacher was very concerned that Lupita not develop a negative attitude toward school and toward herself.

Here is a case where the teacher was consciously aware of what she was doing and where the researcher was lacking in knowledge as to "why." Had I not talked to the teacher about this discovery I might have unjustly assessed the teacher for this. Here is one example of the value of teacher collaboration in classroom research. She gave "meaning" to an action that may have been easily misinterpreted by an "outside" researcher working without the teacher.

Although Lupita was not called upon to participate by the teacher in whole or small group discussions, she was not excluded at the one-to-one level of interaction in other instructional events. In Spanish Tables, for example, where the students individually work on certain tasks (e.g., pencil-paper tasks, art, cutting), the teacher and aides "make the rounds" going from one child to another, monitoring their work and helping each student individually.

The nature of this teacher-student participation structure in small and large group discussions may have been further enhanced by Lupita's "invisibleness" due to her appropriate social behavior in class. That is, Lupita's model behavior may have added to her "invisibleness" because she was never doing anything wrong in front of the teacher. "Visible" children are usually those who misbehave or initiate discussion in the teacher's presence.

> "One thing I have to say about Lupita is (that) she (has) always been a good little gir --to the point that I lose her. I forget about her. She becomes part of the other kids. So I have to keep reminding myself that Lupita is there."
>
> "...She plays the game; she plays it well. She plays my game very well. Behaviorally, she's not a problem." (Teacher, Interview Transcriptions)

The teacher expressed to me that she was very aware of Lupita's strong oral language skills (in Spanish), skills that she was not aware of early in the year since Lupita was very quiet. For example, she was able to tell a three sentence story with a "before, a middle and an end."

> "She's on enrichment in that area. I mean, she's just verbal skilled number one. Yet, I have high achievers who can barely get on telling the story with a beginning middle and and end." (Teacher, Interview Transcriptions)

Ms. Padilla's initial intention was to make "it a very social place for her because she was very quiet. She would not talk. And yet if I put her with those four children (in the pre-school group) I think my husband could say that I've always said Lupita has fantastic language." (Teacher, Interview Transcriptions). Thus, the teacher was aware of Lupita's language competence in other contexts--at the peer level, and was concerned with the child's psychological and social well-being in the classroom as epxressed in her strategies in helping this child cope in and adjust to this new cultural environment--the school, the classroom and the people in the classroom, as well as the American culture in general.

The teacher began the audio-recorded interview by expressing that she had "pygmalion effected"* Lupita.

> "I've pygmalion effected her. In the last three months I haven't been testing her for anything. I wrote her off- her and three others." (Teacher, Interview Transcriptions)

* The "pygmalion effect" is how a teacher's expectation for his/her pupils' intellectual comp tence can come to serve as an educational self-fulfilling prophecy. Thus, low teacher expectations, low student achievement. (See Pygmalion in the Classroom, Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968).

She was reflecting on how she arrived at this state by explaining Lupita's history and home background and her lack of performance in skills prerequisite for entering kindergarten.

Because of this "behindness" and her genuine concern for Lupita's later success in school, the teacher had decided to retain Lupita (with the parents' permission) in kindergarten for the following year.

> "I know what's expected of her over there (meaning the first grade). And she'd have problems. And I'd rather that she stay with me and get a really strong kindergarten. 'Now boy, she's ready. Let's give it our go.' And send her on." (Teacher, Interview Transcriptions)

Before I explicitly asked what effect the videotape might have had on her, the teacher mentioned that that very morning before the interview she had talked with Mrs. M_____, the teacher aide who worked closely with Lupita throughout the school year, about Lupita's present academic status.

> "So I can truthfully say that talking with Mrs._____ this morning, she (Lupita) is about where by kids were, my average kid was in December. She's there now. So we...no ...we have not gotten past recognizing of letters...none of those prerequisites that are needed to get to first grade. And one prerequisite for all the kids to do well in first grade is to know the five 'vocales' (Spanish for 'vowels'). All five vowels must be in the child's repertoire. There's no way she could get them in the next four weeks (number of weeks left in the school year). So on that basis alone I have to come to grips, 'Do I keep her or don't I keep her?" (Teacher, Interview Transcriptions)

The fact that she inquired about Lupita's academic standing and her newly stated indecisiveness to retain Lupita, as evidenced in her last sentence above, were some of the initial clues that the videotape had had an effect on the teacher's assessment of Lupita's abilities. The first clue was her immediate reaction to the tape just after viewing it in the classroom:

"I'm going to have to suspend my assessment of Lupita 'til I get a closer look at her."

When I asked her why she asked Mrs._____ about Lupita's status, she stated:

"The videotape. And her aggressiveness on Friday (the day after the final taping). I couldn't get her down. I mean, she was just down-right aggressive. She just wanted my attention--was demanding it! You know...which I have honestly not seen that in her, never!"

Mrs. M._____ even said, 'Hey....!'"
(Interview Transcriptions)

To this researcher, it seems that this "expanded awareness" of Lupita's abilities as documented in this videotape segment helped make Lupita "visible" once more to the teacher. And while I wasn't there to witness this new interaction behavior the teacher described to me, it seems possible that Lupita's change in interaction style or pattern might be due to changes in teacher's interaction style with Lupita--due perhaps to the teacher's renewed recognition or awareness of Lupita. The social context in face-to-face interaction is mutually accomplished by the participants, moment to moment, each adapting to one another in this social exchange. Thus, Lupita--like any normal human being--used her adaptive behaviors in the face of changing social conditions--notably on the part of the teacher. And while the teacher at first may not have been aware of changes in herself while interacting with Lupita, she was first aware of changes in Lupita, which in turn, allowed her to reflect on the interactional strategies she herself used to result in such changes. For instance, when I asked the teacher why she thought Lupita had changed she continued:

"Oh, I think it's the badge...she carried the badge. And I don't think I've ever done that to her." (Teacher, Interview Transcriptions)

The "badge" seems to be an example of a new interactional strategy in dealing with Lupita.

Reflecting on this new interactive experience, the teacher wondered whether the timing of this experience would have mattered if it had taken place earlier in the year.

> "I'm not sure that even if I had done it in December it would have helped. I don't think she was ready for that yet. But I'm not sure she wasn't ready for it last month! And I have had two months (instead of one) to have capitalized on what I see I could've done now." (Teacher, Interview Transcriptions).

When asked what further thoughts emerged from the knowledge gained from viewing the videotape, she raised many self-evaluative questions.

> "Did you do that to her? Did you cause her to stop growing? Did you stop adapting for her? And yeah... you know, it's an easy way to say, 'Now you belong to a pre-school group and you will get the following things done.' And that's why I say, perhaps with guilt, two months ago, three months ago, that's what I thought, I could have observed her and maybe found the same tnings out. But I didn't. So, one more learning process and one more learning thing for me to remember." (Teacher, Interview Transcriptions)

The teacher's last sentence above corroborates what the principal and the Early Childhood Education Coordinator independently told met at the very beginning of this project:

> "She's one of the best bilingual bicultural teachers in the school, if not the entire state." (Field Notes, 1978)

There is no denying her sincere and genuine concern for personal growth as a professional teacher of young children. Her positive attitude can best be expressed in her own terms:

> "I really don't get upset even looking at myself. I don't say, 'Gosh, I did it to that kid.' No! Just like Lupita, I have a month left. You know, I could still give Lupita a whole...much more time. We still can give it a go. Try it...who knows? (Teacher, Interview Transcriptions)

Near the end of our interview, the teacher was considering new teaching strategies as a result of having viewed Lupita in another context.

> "Well, if nothing else, I've become more aware of trying to, quotes, 'Meet her needs' as a leader so that I will put her in positions where she can be leader. And...'cause that's the important thing. It's an important quality. We have enought children there that I could set up activity time so that she will be the leader. She would direct kids." (Teacher, Interview Transcriptions)

This awareness not only had direct implications for the teaching of Lupita, but also opened up an awareness of other children like her in the classroom. The teacher was also taking "a closer look" at other children--"the three others" she mentioned earlier. For example, in another taped event (while I was working on praising forms) she noticed an out-of-teacher-view behavior of a young boy, Miguel, and took note that "tomorrow I'll take more notice (of him as a result)."

She continued then with the validity of videotaping in the classroom:

> "...it's very quick feedback. To me it would be more nifty to have seen it yesterday (Miguel's behavior), the day it occurred and then I would come back and do it again (meaning changing strategies to correct Miguel's behavior). And manipulate some things so that I don't see that behavior occurring. What if I change it? What happens then? You know, I'm not sure that I can be on top of it to observe either. So...like videotape should be on me again. Doing a pre-post (referring to pre-testing and post-testing using videotapes). You know, 'Okay, so you caught me doing that.' Now I'm sure you can come back and see what you think I'm doing." (Teacher, Interview Transcriptions)

At the end of the interview she began to explore other possibilities for using this "immediate feedback approach." She spoke about how videotaping might be used at the beginning of the school year to speed up "getting down to the business of teaching."

> "You know, you've got 28 kids and you're having to think, 'Now, was he the one that was biting his thumb? Or, was he the one...' You know, just getting names and faces and behaviors together. It's nifty if you could get it all down over the week-end. You check it out, and

'Okay, now I know what you like. And what he doesn't like.' And those kinds of things. And at the end of the year...just to see the growth! Reinforcement alone! Just to see what reinforcement for each kid. How far along did they go along the scale?" (Teacher, Interview Transcriptions)

A Brief Discussion

Here is a classic case where the teacher's knowledge complemented the researcher's knowledge of the situation, for without this colloboration, this "special" taped scene in the life of a bilingual child in the classroom might not have made sense to me nor had an impact on both of us, and ultimately, a special impact on Lupita.

This case study might also be exemplary case of the essence of ethnographic inquiry that separates this approach from experimental models.

"It is the essence of the method (ethnography) that initial questions may change during the course of inquiry." (Hymes, 1977: 7)

"The field worker brings a point of view and implicit questions with him to the field. His perspectives and questions may change in the field, but he has an idea base from which to start." (Erickson, Personal Communication, 1978)

I began this study with a point of view, a good theoretical and research background, and a purpose: "How Chicano teachers praise Chicano children." With this background and purpose, I was able to "shift" by direction in the field to discover a salient phenomenon of functional relevance to the teacher as well as her aides, one of whom directed me in developing in the field a new path of inquiry.

Post-Research Teacher Interview

In early July (1978) after the end of the school year, I telephoned the teacher for a post-research interview. I wanted an up-to-date report on Lupita and needed some more information on the backgrounds of her aides.

The teacher told me that since my departure, she and her aides had been closely working with Lupita using such strategies as allowing her to become a leader in cerntain group activities. Lupita also became more involved in group participation. The teacher was very proud and surprised that in the kindergarten skills post-test, Lupita had scored very high, 22/32, with exceptional scores in language skills and mathematics. (Recall that upon entering kindergarten, Lupita had scored 3/32--while the average score upon entering was 12/32). The high math scores should be compared with what she knew a month earlier. In the May teacher interview, in her desire to "get a closer look" at Lupita's academic standing and abilities, the teacher spoke with Lupita's aide about her mathematics ability. At that time, Lupita was only able to recognize three numbers: one, two and three.

> "She can't recognize anything else. Looking at that you should know (how) to count to twenty; you should be able to recognize (the numbers) all the way up to number ten." (Teacher, Interview Transcriptions)

As a result of her age (she will be seven in August, 1978) and because she did so well in her post-test scores, Lupita was passed to the first grade "but will be coming back to kindergarten for bilingual reading skills." (Teacher, Phone Interview)

Near the end of the school year, the teacher talked with Lupita's parents and suggested to them that she (Lupita) attend the Migrant Summer School Program. Having just visited that summer school the day I called, the teacher relayed to me that her summer school teacher reported that Lupita was doing very well, is a leader, and is very competent in a variety of academic skills. Both teachers agreed that Lupita had "spurted" in academic growth--in the last two months. (That is, since my departure.)

> "She knows quite a few things now. Like the criteria necessary to be successful in the first grade." (Teacher Phone Interview)

Ms. Padilla now believes that Lupita will have no problem in the first grade.

Perhaps it should be mentioned that Lupita's summer school teacher was the "second" teacher who happened to be visiting Lupita's classroom that afternoon when the videotape was shown in the field. What effect this may have had on her is unknown.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The only other classroom research effort similar to this (to my knowledge) is the work I was involved in most recently (Carrasco and Vera, 1977; Carrasco, Vera, and Cazden; 1978--an extended version in press). We analyzed a taped "instructional chain" event (the process by which a teacher teaches a task to one child who then teaches it to one more of his/her peers) in which a Spanish dominant bilingual first grade Chicana child, Veronica, was the tutor. Like Lupita, Veronica was a quiet, well behaved girl who spoke very little English. At the time of taping, Veronica had been retained tn the first grade due to her "weak" English skills (the classroom was not in a bilingual program, the teacher was not bilingual/bicultural, and the language of instruction was predominantly English).

The camera captured the teacher teaching Veronica an English language arts task in the English language. After teacher instruction, the teacher asked Veronica to recpaitulate what the task was about. Veronica was only able to feed back minimal information in broken English. After a few moments of "free time," Veronica then began to teach her tutee, a Spanish dominant bilingual boy. Once accomplished, Veronica returned to the teacher who was not privy to the peer tutoring process and who asked "how it went." Veronica was only able to give minimal information, again in broken English.

With this minimal information a teacher might make the logical argument that Veronica did not understand the task and by logical extension, was also probably not a competent tutor. We focused on the tutoring process since the teacher was not involved in the scene. We found that Veronica not only understood what was taught to her in the English language, but also that she possessed teaching skills much like an adult teacher. While she was not taught how to teach, Veronica was able to process the task information received in English to formulate a clear set of instructions for her tutee. And what was most interesting was that we were able to see and hear Veronica's remarkable job of effectively formulating those instructions and teaching the English language arts task in her native language--Spanish.

During her "free time," Veronica was also seen independently studying a set of English sight-words pronouncing each of them to herself aloud, and in perfect, crisp and exaggerated English. Indeed, a self-learner.

Like Lupita, Veronica's "hidden" talents and abilities in class were displayed outside of the teacher's awareness--in peer context. In both cases, the teachers were not fully aware of those qualities, abilities, and skills these children possessed. The major difference between these two case studies is that the Veronica tape was analyzed two years after it was taken--too late for the researcher and teacher to put this knowledge to use in that classroom.

A Closer Look at The Tape

While in this case study it has been shown that it is not always necessary for classroom ethnographers to analyze the videotape to have an effect on teachers, I went ahead and broke down the tape into constituent parts and analyzed them in descriptive detail, noting accurate verbal and nonverbal descriptions of the scene in real time.

A more focused look at this tape allowed me to further investigate similar behaviors that both Veronica and Lupita seemed to display.

There are some hints about Lupita's continual "invisibleness" in other contexts in class. By taking a closer, more detailed look at the taped scene under study, for example, before Lupita had decided to play with the puzzle, she was standing behind Marta and monitoring the interaction between her and the teacher--the teacher was head-down focusing on Marta's coloring book, evaluating her Spanish Tables task. Having finished, the teacher looked up to say something to Marta face-to-face, and Lupita, caught in the teacher's line of vision, immediately began to "look busy" by bending down to get a coloring paper, a "free time" task assigned by the teacher which Lupita seemed reluctant to perform. Another instance on this tape was when the aide called the boy at the box of toys to go back to the Spanish Tables to finish his work. Lupita, again caught in the "authority's" line of vision, refocused on her puzzle, quick-checking to see "when it was appropriate" (when the aide was no longer looking) to turn around to tell the boy to go back to finish his work.

In the Veronica tape we found that she also seemed to display "invisible" behaviors in the "authority's" line of vision. During one episode, for example, Veronica was joined in her tutoring job by another bilingual student--a third party. Having noticed the third party at the scene, the "student'teacher" (adult) in the classroom approached the group and pulled out the third student from the scene. But just before this occurred (and just like Lupita), Veronica and her tutee, Alberto, looked in the direction of the approaching teacher and immediately began to "look busy"--focusing on their job and acting as if the third party wasn't there. A detailed

analysis of the Lupita tape allowed me to "see" this similar behavior Veronica and her tutee displayed. I feel this is important information for teachers to know because they usually spend an inordinate amount of time trying to keep discipline in their classrooms. "Behavior problem" children are always "visible" in the classroom. And "invisible" children who seem to behave well in the eyes of teachers may be getting less attention, less teacher-student interaction, and therefore, less instruction; or, as in this case study, children are "forgotten" because they are "invisible" to the teacher.

Most previous classroom ethnographic studies have focused on children's inappropriate behavior with the underlying assumption that teachers use these "bad" behaviors as a basis for assessing the social and intellectual competence of children (e.g., Bremme, 1976; Erickson, 1976; Erickson, Florio and Bremme, 1975; McDermott, 1974, 1976, and McDermott and Gospodinoff, 1976; Mehan, 1975; Rist, 1970). They found that educators do seem to make informal judgements about students on the basis of their interactional performances and these judgements do seem to influence educator's decision-making about students.

> "As we study classroom interaction from the student's perspective, we are finding that the alignment of behavior and situation is a significant skill in the repertoire of of the "competent student." It appears that the raw number of appropriate and inappropriate behavior does not vary across students in the classroom. But those students whom the teacher independently rates as "good students" are those who are able to keep their appropriate behavior in the eyes of the teacher, and their inappropriate behavior out of sight. The students who are not rated as "good students" have not made that distinction. They indiscriminately perform inappropriate action both in the teacher's gaze and out of it." (Mehan, 1976: 9)

Here are two cases in which both students are socially competent in the classroom and whose expanded view of their performance by their teachers in

outside-of-teacher-awareness contexts revealed what more these kind of children are capable of doing. In other words, teachers as well as researchers should not only focus their attention on inappropriate behaviors by children, but should also investigate what "appropriately behaved" children do outside of the teacher's gaze.

Finally, expanded awareness of student competence such as found here may not always have such impact on teachers. For example, in a semester long observation study of a bilingual program in Boston, Rodriquez (1978) described how dominant Spanish speaking bilingual junior high school students taught Spanish to monolingual English speaking elementary school children, and he noted that the junior high school teacher expected very little from her bilingual student tutors. He described how an Anglo child had trouble pronouncing the Spanish word, "juego" (game). Out of teacher view, the tutor went to the blackboard and wrote the word phonetically, "Who-egg-o," and the tutee was able to correctly pronounce the word. After the tutoring session, the researcher observed the junior high tutee informing the teacher how he had accomplished this lesson. The teacher kindly but briefly acknowledged the student and went on with her business. Later observations by Rodriquez suggested that this new knowledge about this student's competence did not have an impact on the teacher's attitude toward the student. This may be partially due to the teacher's stated negative attitude toward the program. Nevertheless, in the face of such evidence of competence as tutor, the teacher was not affected by it; she did not incorporate such knowledge in her teaching strategies, and the student remained in the teacher's low expectation frame. Thus, when evidence of student competence unfolds, teachers have to be able to recognize and to accommodate such evidence to their conception of individual children if responsive education is to take place in the classroom.

SUMMARY DISCUSSION

Like most educators, I believe that teachers should know what skills, abilities, and talents children bring to school--what children already know and do. Teachers understandably have a limited knowledge of those skills and talents children bring to their classrooms. What they do know is what they have seen and/or heard about them from other teachers and what they learn at first hand mainly through personal teacher-student interaction in the classroom. The purpose of this study is to expand this knowledge, to broaden teachers' awareness of the various communicative abilities and talents children have in other school contexts so that ultimately these "other views" will help (1) teachers be more accurate in their assessment of children, (2) adapt their teaching procedures and environments to accommodate individual children's needs, and (3) raise their expectation of children.

In this case study it has been shown that even the most conscientious teachers with normal children may have a limited view of their children's talents and abilities in the classroom. This is understandably so because in the community of the classroom, the teacher usually tries to distribute his/her attention to each child, limiting teacher-student interaction time, and as a consequence, limiting his/her knowledge of those children's talents and abilities. And in those short-time interactions with children, if the busy teacher sees and hears a child performing inadequately, especially during the beginning of the school year, the teacher is likely to commit the logical fallacy of inferring lack of competence from that child's lack of performance. This could lead to lowered expectations of that child.

The concept of expectation is based on one's experience of the world in a given culture (in this case, the classroom); and one organizes knowledge

to predict interpretations and relationships regarding new information, events, and experience. In this case study, for example, to arrive at expectations for Lupita, the teacher like all teachers, used teacher logic. That is, she used her knowledge of what children in the kindergarten world are generally expected to do, to compare new information about Lupita (her background) as well as her classroom performance early in the school year to develop procedures for teaching Lupita (pre-school curriculum) and to predict what the results may be (a strong kindergartener next year). Teacher logic such as this is not totally false. Like the teacher in this study, every teacher uses what information is available to him/her to make such logical predictions about children. And many of the recommended strategies and practices they decide to use for certain children may work and many of the predictions may also come true. But these logically-arrived-at practices and predictions may be confirmed or disconfirmed for reasons other than the causes assumed by the teacher's system of conventional wisdom in which terms and premises often go unexamined (Erickson, 1973).

This study has shown, I believe, that ethnographic monitoring in classrooms can serve to at least expand teacher information about children so that teachers can better assess children's performance and raise their expectations of them.

Finally, this case study is an example of the efficacy of ethnographic monitoring using videotapes as a means for gathering more information about children is school. But as a former elementary teacher, I honestly believe that using video cameras in classrooms, while useful, is not necessary to expand teacher awareness of children's abilities and talents that are not displayed in teacher-student contexts--especially when teachers "begin" to

form assessments of children and before those assessments become framed or locked in teachers' minds. In short, in order for teachers to expand their own knowledge about children, I urge teachers to become "in-the field researchers" of their own classrooms. My hope is that through this study this seed has been planted in teachers.

FOOTNOTES

1 The migrant program is supported by the State of California. It supports migrant "green card" holders (legally in the U.S.)--families from Mexico who come to the U.S. to work in farms or other industries. Those who register in this program receive special help in schools, health and social services.

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EXPANDED AWARENESS OF STUDENT PERFORMANCE:

RELEVANCE STATEMENT

Robert L. Carrasco's paper, "Expanded Awareness of Student Performance: A Cast Study in Applied Ethnographic Monitoring in a Bilingual Classroom," is an appropriate sequel to another recently-issued WORKING PAPER IN SOCIO-LINGUISTICS, Dell Hymes' "What Is Ethnography (#45). By means of a detailed and carefully documented case study, focused on a single child, her teacher, and her bilingual classroom environment, Carrasco demonstrates most of all the practical potential of ethnographic monitoring in the classroom, as a means of expanding teacher awareness of student communicative competence and performance, especially with regard to those "out of sight" and unofficial behaviors that may contrast markedly with more visible activity. Carrasco's paper is a dramatic example of the productiveness of close and sympathetic collaboration among the researcher, the classroom teachers, and his/her aides.